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AUTHOR Bradley, Patricia
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ABSTRACT

To explore racial attitudes from the colonial period of the United States, a study examined advertising practices regarding announcements dealing with black slaves in colonial newspapers in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. Careful scrutiny revealed no relationship between the editorial stance of a newspaper and the amount of slave advertising the newspaper carried. Overall the ads suggest that the northeast attitude toward slavery was that it was a not necessarily permanent status necessary to a functioning society rather than a condition based on racist assumptions or inherent deficiencies of the black race. Examination of ads showed that slave advertising fell into two categories: slaves for sale and runaways with regional characteristics. Findings also showed that sale advertisements emphasized the skillfulness of the individual slave rather than a passive, dependent personality, while runaway ads were couched in negative terms--that is, the slave was given to alcohol abuse, or considered artful and deceitful for having run away. Findings also disclose that, although the South Carolina press serves as the most rigid example of the cultural messages of slave advertising, perhaps due to its pronounced fear of slave rebellion, the runaway advertising in all colonies functioned as a way of binding slave owners together, similar to a trade association, perpetuating the obligation of all white people to participate in the maintenance of the "status quo." (Notes and tables of data are attached.) (NKA)

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SLAVE ADVERTISING IN THE COLONIAL NEWSPAPER: MIRROR TO THE DILEMMA

by

Patricia Bradley
University of Georgia
Athens

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PG - Pennsylvania Gazette

PJ - Pennsylvania Journal

BG - Boston Gazette

BNL - Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News-Letter

RNYG - Rivington's New-York Gazetteer

NYJ - New-York Journal

MG - Maryland Gazette

Purdie - Virginia Gazette (published by Alexander Purdie)

Pickney - Virginia Gazette (published by John Pickney)

Rind - Virginia Gazette (published by William Rind)

SCG - South Carolina Gazette

SLAVE ADVERTISING IN THE COLONIAL NEWSPAPER:

MIRROR TO THE DILEMMA

> Thursday next at Noon, will be sold by Public Vendue, at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Kay Street, Two Negro men and Twenty Hogshead read Wine. At the time of the sale samples of the wine may be seen.
> Boston Gazette, June 11. 1770

The July 26, 1770, issue of the Pennsylvania Gazette contained a rather typical assortment of advertising in which slaves figured either as property to be sold or property to be recovered. Included were two items that acknowledged that slaves had family ties.

The first concerned a mother and daughter for sale, "Two Negro Women (a Mother and Daughter) to be sold together or separate." (7/26/70) The second advertised the sale of a woman. "A sober healthy young NEGRO Wench, is fit for all sorts of Housework, and has had the Small-pox. She will not be sold into the Country, because she is married, and it is thought improper to separate MAN and a wife."

The items illustrate two differing notions of the importance of slave family connections. To the owner of the slaves in the first item, there was no obligation to keep the mother and daughter together; for the owner of the slave in the second item, there was a relationship between slaves that took precedence over the relationship of master to slave. The second item was unusual, for seldom did the colonial advertiser so openly admit the humanity of his slave. But it serves as an illustration to the theme of this paper: that in the end, slave advertising served as an on-going reminder of the dilemma of slavery.

Week after week, year after year, the columns of slave advertising that appeared in all colonial newspapers conveyed the conflicting messages that while property in men was a legitimate institution of the society, slaves had little in common with hogsheads of wine. Slaves, recognized as property by law, were not so easily fit into that definition, even by colonists whose acquaintance with property was certainly intimate, allegiance to it longstanding and practice of it almost sacramental.

Despite a tradition that honored, sought and protected ownership, slave advertisements indicated that colonists, in various degrees, recognized the human values of the black men and women whom they were permitted to own. That recognition, it is suggested here, even when represented in the angry emotions of denial, put in doubt the definition of slaves as property and by the late colonial period set the stage for

new rationales to explain ownership.

The dilemma for all regions was how to deal with the men, women and children as they were institutionally defined as property, when daily experience indicated clearly that they shared the characteristics of the human family. Advertising suggests how colonists coped with the difficulty of trying to make sense of slavery within the institutional framework.

In the northeast, slaves emerged from the advertising as competent helpmeets and thus appropriate, as were indentured servants and apprentices, as acceptable parts of a stepladder society. In Virginia and Maryland, slave advertising reflected the integral role slavery played in the definition, as well as the economic nature of the society. Runaway advertisements, for Virginians, were reminders that the survival of their definition of self depended on slaves remaining loyally in the place Virginians had prescribed for them. And in South Carolina, the slave advertisement was the town crier calling out that white dominance could only be maintained by vigilance and loyalty of white to white. Advertising thus served not only to send the message that slavery was a legitimate social institution but also found ways, sometimes remarkably convoluted, to support that legitimacy. The convolutions of the argument, however, suggest that at least some persons could not believe that slaves were simply property, to be owned unequivocally and without justification.

Scholarship

Slave advertisements have not been widely used to explore racial attitudes in the colonial period. However, Lathan Algerna Windley, in examining runaway advertisements in Virginia and South Carolina, concluded those advertisements did not reflect a docile "Sambo" personality as proposed by Stanley Elkins.[1] Another scholar attempted to construct a physical profile of the northeastern slave based on a survey of advertisements.[2] Darold D. Wax relied heavily on slave advertisements in his examination of the Maryland Gazette from 1745-1775. Wax concluded that Gazette readers saw an image of the Negro "as property but which also revealed his human qualities."[3]

Slave Advertising and Editorial Stance

The research for this paper indicated no relationship between the editorial stance of a newspaper, Patriot or moderate, and the amount of slave advertising the newspaper carried. For example, a moderate newspaper such as the Pennsylvania Gazette carried many columns of slave advertising--in one year, twice as much as its competitor, the Pennsylvania Journal (Figure 1). The Boston Gazette, the most radical of the Patriot papers, carried only slightly more slave advertising as the Drapers' conservative Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter (Figure 2). The fairly equal distribution of slave advertising between the latter two papers indicates that neither newspaper was seen in an anti-slavery or pro-slavery position and thus appropriate or inappropriate for slave advertising.

Nor was the plethora of slave advertising in the Pennsylvania Gazette viewed as an inhospitable context for Joseph Cruikshank's advertisement for an anti-slavery tract by Granville Sharp (12/22/73-PG) any more than the Boston Gazette was seen as inappropriate for the advertisement of another anti-slavery pamphlet by an unnamed but unabashed "Physician of Eminence in Philadelphia." And both the Boston Gazette and the Boston News-Letter published advertisements for the poems of the "Negro Girl" Phillis Wheatley (2/10/74-BNL; 1/24/74-BNL).

The survey of slave advertising suggests that the impartial coverage of an issue, even as sensitive as slavery, was perceived as fulfilling an obligation to the tradition of open access rather than an editorial statement. However, the policy of open access, or impartiality, by the printer/editors of the time is not to suggest that the editor/printers were impartial themselves. Most all editor/printers participated in slave transactions by performing middle-man functions. "For further particulars, inquire of the Printer" was almost a frequent statement, appearing in the majority of the for sale advertisements in Boston and Philadelphia papers (Figure 2). William Bradford, printer/editor of the Pennsylvania Journal, also benefited from slave transactions as proprietor of the London Coffee House, a regular site for slave auctions.

Although the slave advertisements and the middle-man functions the slave advertisements brought with them, meant

financial gain, the printer/editors could benefit without any responsibility for editorial judgment. The advertising columns, then, provide a particularly fertile field for the examination of the racial attitudes of the culture, uninhibited by any screening process established by the political position of a newspaper.

Good slaves versus bad slaves

In all colonies, slave advertising fell into two major categories, advertisements for slaves for sale and advertisements for runaway slaves. In much lesser numbers, advertisements also appeared for slaves wanted, and by jailers advertising for the owners of individuals who had been apprehended on suspicion of being runaway slaves. Most advertisements occurred in the first two categories with the for sale advertisements exceeding, although not overwhelming, the advertisements for runaway slaves (Figure 2) The slave wanted advertisements, by contrast, occurred irregularly and, particularly in the northeast, tended to be calls for individual slaves with specific skills. Despite the lesser numbers of these slave wanted advertisements, readers of the Boston Gazette would have had difficulty in avoiding the advertisement by a slave dealer that called for "Any person who have healthy Slaves to dispose of, Male or Female, that have been some years in the Country, of 25 Years or Under, may be informed of a Purchaser by applying to the Printer." That advertisement appeared sixteen times between December, 1772, and July of the following year, a startling number of repetitions. Most advertisements appeared two or

three times. Except for the Pennsylvania papers, the appendix for this paper only supplies data pertaining to the initial insertion. It needs to be taken into account that the repetition of the advertisements likely increased the impact of the messages.

The advertisements of slaves for sale and those for the apprehension of runaway slaves were obviously different. Slaves, in order to be sold, most generally were presented at their best. Slaves who escaped their owners were more likely presented as rogues. The colonial reader, in advertisements that often appeared side by side in sometimes comparable numbers, was presented a picture of slaves as either good or bad, both characterizations a result, of course, of the individual slave relationship to white society. In the southern newspapers, however, this distinction was blurred because slaves tended to be sold in groups rather than by individuals and there was less opportunity, or the opportunity was ignored, to present slaves with individual characteristics.

Slave Advertisements in Northeastern Papers

It was in the northeast that the "good slave" of the for sale advertisements prevailed most prominently. To the colonial reader of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New York, the slave of the for sale advertisements was hard-working, healthy and skilled. Most for sale advertisments included the phrase "sold for no fault" or "for want of employ." Occasionally, those phrases would be elaborated upon as in

the advertisement of "A likely Negro WENCH, about 22 years of age, fit either for town or country business. She is sold or no fault, but the want of employment, as her mistress has quit keeping house" (4/25/70-PG). Four years later, in almost identical langugae, another "likely young Negro Wench" was advertised for sale, "The cause of her being sold is her Master's removing out of the Province" (5/11/74-PG). Purchasers were sought for children on the same grounds, as in the advertisement of the "strong Healthy Negro Girl 10 Years of Age" who was to be sold "for Want of Employ" (6/4/70-BG).

Only occasionally did an advertisment include an indication that the slave in question was not faultless, as in the advertisement of a "likely Negro wench, about 25 years old with a Female Child, about 4 years old." Potential buyers were told that upon inquiry "the real cause of her being sold will be made known" (7/12/75--PG). Another Pennsylvanian advertising a mother and her two sons also indicated "There [sic] faults will be candidly told" (5/15/76-PJ). However, one New York advertiser had no hesitation in expressing candor in the center of the advertising marketplace. The advertised slave had no faults "except a too great fondness for a particular Wench in his old neighborhood" (10/19/75-RNYG). Two Boston Gazette advertisers were similarly frank. "To Be Sold, a hearty, likely strong Negro Fellow of about 18 years old, he has some good Qualities, he is sober and good-natured, but is a runaway, a Thief and a Liar. If such a Negro will suit any

Person to send out of the Province, they may hear of him if they apply soon to Edes and Gill" (12/10/70-BG). The week before an advertisement in a similar vein had appeared: "[V]ery handy at all kinds of Household Work, but does not like it, is discontented with his present service and by keeping bad Company in Town, is grown very impudent and Saucy" (12/3/70-BG).

But generally such indications of problems were rare, so rare in fact that, in an unusual insertion, the Boston Gazette noted the trend towards faultless slaves with some sarcasm: "WANTED A Negro Man from 18 to 30 Years of Age that will steal, lie and get Drunk. Any person having such an one to dispose of, may hear of a Purchaser by applying to the Printers hereof" (7/18/74-BG). On the whole, the average northeastern slave was apparently sold for no other reason than needing something to do.

Slaves for sale shared a number of other positive characteristics, particularly that of being "likely," a somewhat all-purpose eighteenth century word of affirmation that suggested suitability to task, health and physical attractiveness, as in the description of a slave as "likely to look upon" (1/12/75-NYJ). The slave Titus was described as "well-made and proportioned every way and is very likely for a Negro" (9/14/-NYJ). But perhaps the most valuable quality the word had for the advertiser was that it was all encompassing; it crossed all lines. Men, women and children could all be described as "likely," whether they were house

servants, artisans, or sold on the auction block straight from the Middle Passage. "Likely" served as a common description for all slaves, a word, signficantly, not used in the advertisments for indentured servants. Its popularity may be explained by the fact it served as a way of ascribing similarity to men and women who were not always similar. It thus served as a way of working against the individuation of slaves into personalities and put the onus of developing the "likeliness" or the potential of slaves onto the shoulders of the master.

A description of a slave as "likely" was often joined by a description of strength and health, as "A very likely, strong Negro Boy of Good Temper, about 12 years of age," who, naturally, was to be "sold for no fault, but only for want of Employ" (9/1/72-BG). It was a selling point if a slave had had smallpox and measles and the immunization that the successfully survived diseases provided in a society that was periodically racked by epidemics.

Once it was ascertained that the slaves were sold for no fault, were "likely," strong and healthy, all attributes that commonly were shared among slaves for sale, slaves were only then individuated by their talents. The talents were considerable, and crossed a number of occupations. Not only were slaves advertised as being good farmers and cooks, the advertisements indicate they had skills in a variety of trades--as millers, coopers, butchers, hair dressers, tanners, carpenters, wheelwrights and bakers (Figure 3). Slaves' ability at language, English as well as others, was

considered worthy of mention, as the advertisement that promoted "a likely Negro lad, 17 years old, speaks English and French" (4/4/74-BG).

Good-temper was occasionally mentioned (Figure 3), but the emphasis was on usefulness and the attributes of skill, strength and health that would contribute to that usefulness. A want advertisement (that referred potential sellers to the Bradfords' London Coffee House) called for a boy "of a good disposition, and willing to learn the necessary qualifications for a waiting man" (9/13/70-PJ).

But what was not called for or mentioned in the slave advertisements were the characertistics that have become associated with the so-called Sambo personality; that is, a dependent, happy-go-lucky lucky personality that aimed to please the master. Indeed, the emphasis on skillfulness was at the opposite end of the spectrum. An advertiser such as the one who boasted of his slave that "he can plough, sow, reap and mow, and can do as much in a day as any that that I have seen" would not likely have included the happy dependence of the Sambo personality in his description. Even in the context of the for sale advertisments, there are glimpses of slave independence and the recognition by advertisers of their wants and desires. "The cause of her being sold is her Master's removing out of the Province, and she not willing to go, as her Parents live near Philadelphia" (5/11/74-PG). Another: "[T]he cause of is being sold is that he is not inclined to farming" (6/29/74-PG). A third: "[T]hey are sold for no fault, only not agreeing with the

freeman of the business they are at present employed in" (10/4/70-PG).

Obedience may have been assumed, but owners of slaves for sale did not consider it either factual or sufficiently important to use meek behavior as a selling point. Indeed, the use of the phrase "down look," presumably a depressed, hang-dog attitude, was seldom used to describe slaves in the northeast, but frequently used to describe runaway indentured servants.

However, the lack of description of slaves as subservient cannot be interpreted to mean that the slave had some control over his or her destiny. Despite the concern of an occasional kind master, the majority of the slave advertisements indicated that slaves existed for the benefit of the owner regardless of the personal consequences for the slave. Small children were sold with or without their mothers. In one Pennsylvanian advertisment a husband and wife were advertised for sale as a pair, not a common occurrence, but the family unit did not automatically include their child. "They have a fine promising male child, 2 years old, that has had the smallpox, likewise to be sold with them if the Purchaser chooses" (7/12/75-PG). A New York advertiser offered a similar option to potential buyers. "A likely Negro Wench, not quite twenty years of age, with or without her child, a Boy, about 2 years old, as may suit the purchaser" (8/2/70-NYJ). A five-year-old child was advertised separately from her mother with a sanctimonious

note: "The owner intends to break up house-keeping, otherwise he would not choose to part with them" (5/11/74-PJ).

Boston advertisements, however, provide the most compelling evidence that points to the vunerability and isolation of the black child. In Boston, black babies were regularly "given away free." Between 1770 and 1774, the Boston Gazette and the Boston News-Letter carried 25 such advertisements for free babies as in this typical one: "To Be Given Away. A very, likely Negro Female Child, of as fine a breed as any in America. Enquire of the Printer." (1/30/73-BNL).

The advertisements for free babies were found mainly in Boston newspapers. The practice of giving away unwanted black babies was apparently a long-standing Boston tradition.[4] In other colonies, advertisments for free babies were rare, suggesting that the owners found other solutions for unwanted or orphaned black children, perhaps placing them with other black families, or finding homes for them through an informal network rather than the newspaper columns.

By the age of seven or eight, however, children were useful enough to be sold. Children of the eighteenth century, of course, did not inhabit a special place of dependency and need defined by the Romantics as "childhood" and later immortalized into family life by the Victorians. As the duties of eighteenth century women went beyond the duties of childbearing and rearing, the duties of children

went beyond being a child. Apprenticeship began early for black and white child. Adulthood was not far behind.

But perhaps one benefit of the harsh rules of the eighteenth century that only recognized a short period of physical rather than emotional dependency of childhood may have been that the black parents of the time could escape the characterization of childlikeness that was to hound future generations. There was little room for dependency and childlikeness in the rigorous world of the eighteenth century. If there was a white man's burden, it was the burden of survival. The advertisements of the period indicate that it was a burden that slaves were expected to help shoulder, utilizing their skills, health and strength.

The "Bad" Slave

If runaway slaves had not been advertised in newspapers, the image of the eighteenth century colonial slave portrayed by the northeastern papers would be one of competent helpmeet. But the existence of advertisments for runaway slaves belied that image. Escaped slaves were "spiritous," that is, given to alcohol abuse, artful and deceitful in a small but regularly appearing percentage of advertisements for runaways. However, the coin was not turned completely; slaves retained many of the good characteristics of the for sale advertisements--healthy, talented and attractive. The escaped slave, John, for example, was "a tall, handsome genteel Negro man" (8/4/73-PJ).

The major negative characteristic of slaves of the runaway advertisements was connected to their disappearance.

By the act of escaping, the slaves could be characterized as "arch," "sly," "cunning," "lying" and "crafty." Seen from another perspective, of course, the so-called artful and deceitful characteristics that enabled slaves to escape, could easily have been described as clever, brave and inventive. But to the percentage of owners who used these characterizations, the act of escape was seen as betrayal, even abandonment. Their advertisements bristle with antagonism. Personality traits of the escaped slave were described as if they were warning signs to others not be similarly fooled. A Boston runaway by the name of Samson, although "sprightly and active" spoke with a "learing [sic] under-look" (8/19/76-BG). Nor did skillfulness and hardwork guarantee a loyal slave. Jem was described by his Philadelphia owner as "a cunning ingenious fellow" despite a remarkable number of admirable traits--a "good workman in a forge" who could do "any kind of smith or carpenters work necessary about a forge, and can also do any kind of farming business" (8/5/72-PJ; 8/5/72-PG).

Nor did a religious demeanor protect the master from what he would consider the cunning behavior of a runaway slave. Moses Grimes, for example, was "very religious, preaches to his colour, walks before burials, and marries." Nonetheless, he was "very artful"--so artful, in fact, that "if spoke familiarly to pretends to simplicity and laughs" (11/25/72-PG). Another slave, who had escaped with his wife, was described as a preacher and also "smooth tongued, and very

artful" (6/1/75-RNYG). In these advertisements, pleasantness was not viewed as a natural characteristic of slave personality, as it was in later rhetoric, but as an indication of cunning.

The examples also illustrated that artfulness was frequently connected to the slave's conversational interaction with the master, reflecting the master's lurking suspicion that slaves did not always mean what they said. The advertisement for the Philadelphia slave Buck could work as a reminder to other whites that a slave's pleasant demeanor was no guarantee that disloyality was not far under the surface. He was "artful and deceptive in conversation, firm and daring in his efforts to perpetrate villainy, though of mild temper and plausible in his speech" (4/12/75-PG). The phrase "deceptive in conversation" and "plausible in speech" was used the following year for a slave named Harry (8/26/76-PG). The appearance of this and similar phrases in the runaway advertisements indicate that slave owners established for themselves a rhetoric that protected them from the acknowledgement that the men and women who ran from their custody, men and women whom they admired and respected for their hard work and skill, might have reason to seek their independence. And in some case the rhetoric served as a public expression of grief as much as a call for the return of property, as in this advertisment by a Virginia master that appeared in a Pennsylvania paper.

"I tell the public he is the same boy who for so many years waited on me on my travels through this and neighboring

provinces (and his pertness, or rather impudence, was well-known to almost all my acquaintance) there is the less occasion for a particular description of him...I think it not amiss to say he is a very likely young fellow, about 20 years old, about 5 feet 9 inches high, stout and strong made, has a remarkable swing in his walk, but is much more so by a knack he has of gaining the good graces of almost everybody who will listen to his bewitching and deceitful tongue, which seldom or ever speaks the truth" (4/27/74-PG).

The majority of runaway advertisements did not illustrate this tone to such a degree however. Nor, despite the power of the descriptions when they did occur, did most of the advertisements indicate runaway slaves were artful and deceitful (Figure 3). Artfulness occurred most frequently in the Pennsylvania papers, less in the Boston papers and almost never in the New York papers (Figure 4). In part the frequency of the description can explained by the amount of slave advertising from each region--Pennsylvania carried the most and more opportunity occurred for the description to appear.

The runaway advertisements, rather like the advertisements for runaway apprentices, could be most characterized by a certain predictability. As in the for sale advertisments, the runaway advertisements of the northeast usually conformed to a rather established pattern. The amount of the reward was headlined. Some newspapers, particularly the Pennsylvania Journal, perhaps the most

typographically advanced colonial newspaper in terms of advertising layout[5]), used an African running figure or other illustration with the advertisments. The block of copy most usually began with the word "RUNAWAY" capitalized, followed by the location of the place the slave left, the name and a description of the slave, a detailed description of the clothing worn and taken, a description of skills and occasional description of personality traits as already discussed. The advertisment closed with a reminder of the amount of the reward and the name of the owner or an "Enquire of the Printer." A final postscript often warned "all masters of vessels" not take up the slave or anyone to "harbour" the slave on pain of legal penalty.

As in the for sale advertisements, the physical description of the slave was dominant in words that affirm as much describe: "a very stout well-made fellow" (3/31/73-PG); "well-featured" (2/3/73-PG); "a likely, well-made fellow" (11/8/71-BG); "strait-limb'd" (3/25/76-BG); "very strong made" (615/75-MG); "spare and active" (9/28/75-MG); "stout well-set Fellow" (7/8/73-BNL). These general statements were followed by precise physical descriptions, height "five feet seven or eight inches" with particular attention paid to physical marks of identity, some of which were striking. A Boston slave Prince, although "well-set" had "had his Jaw Bone broken, it is an obstruction to him in Eating, has had his right leg broke, and is a little crooked, has lost two or three Toes of his Foot." If those disabilities were not sufficient to make him a marked man, his red waistscoat and

yellow breeches may have aided in the search (6/7/70-BNL).

Not regularly, but on occasion, an advertiser would note that the slave was wearing an iron collar, certainly a reminder to northeast readers of the status of slaves. An eighteen-year-old Philadelphia girl was identified by the iron collar she was wearing at the time of her escape (2/8/70-PG). And another slave escaped with a collar and a chain on his leg, although his owner warned that he nonetheless "pretends to be free." He also took a hammer and chisel with him (5/10/70-PG).

The slave Cuff escaped with "an iron collar around his neck, it is likely he soon got that off" (10/25/75-PG) but was also identified by his stutter. Speech patterns, as noted before, were often a part of the description. The frequency of mention of speech disorders provides a glimpse into the trauma of slavehood.[6]

Where such obvious identification marks were not available, owners did not fail to use minutia. The physical description of a Maryland slave advertised for in Pennsylvania included mention of a small bald spot and "one of his little fingers stiff" (2/8/70-PG). A Mulatto boy, a barber, "has been lately cured of a sore on one of his great toes, and one on his shin bone a little above the instep" (10/12/74-PG).

The closeness of the master's observation of the men and women in his or her custody is again illustrated in the descriptions of the slave clothing. Although owners

acknowledged that the runaway slave would likely change his or her clothes, that did not stop them from listing every stitch of clothing, down to the shade of the color of the buttons, that the slave was wearing at the time of escape. Another close description was given to clothing the slave took along.

> Had on when he went away, a brown Homespun Coat, lined with the striped woolen, old leather breeches, a Pair of New long striped Linen Trousers, and took with him a new homsepun brown lappel coat and Breeches lined with the same colour, and brass Buttons, the collar lined with red quality, black Calamico...and a homespun Great Coat with metal Buttons and divers pair of Stockings, striped Woolen shirt and a white linnen ditto (3/8/61-BNL).

The master of a Philadelphia runaway Dick noted that the "pair of pretty good leather breeches" he ran away in were without any seam between the legs" (6/7/70-PG). The owner of the slave Pompey concluded his already detailed clothing description with the information the slave's shoes, although decorated "with copper or pinch-back buckles," still "appeared too long for him" (11/20/76-PJ). And one wonders why the slave Bet was not identified by the large trunk she obviously needed for her flight to freedom. In addition to the considerable amount of clothing she was wearing, she took with her: "an half worn scarlet coat, new purpose and yellow checked stuff jacket and petticoat, white linen ditto, blue and white stamped linen ditto, cambrick apron, red and white calico short gown, and black bombazein quilted petticoat." She was reported being seen in New Jersey "in the company of some soldiers" (11/20/76-PJ).

The minute physical and clothing descriptions certainly indicate one level of intimacy between the slave and his master. But the intimacy appeared limited to these spheres of observation. Owners of the runaway slaves advertised in the northeast appeared, at least from the advertisements, to have little personal knowledge of their runaways. Unlike slave owners in the southern colonies, northeastern slave owners tended not to offer speculation on where the runaway slave may have fled to, suggesting these owners had little interest or even concept of the familial and emotional ties of the slave. When such acknowledgements existed, the tone sometimes suggested surprise that the tie to the master was not always paramount, as when one owner complained that when he gave his female slave a pass to visit her child in Philadelphia "she never returned" (2/20/72-PG). Another female slave left "three young children, a good master and mistress, and is going towards New-York, after a married white man who is a soldier in the Continental service there" (8/7/76-PG).

Another black-white relationship was noted in a runaway advertisement in which the emphasis was on the kind of white woman that would flee with a slave. "Said Mulattoe took with him a white woman, which he says is his wife, she is very remarkable, as all the fingers are cut off her right hand, and is a thick-set, chunky, impudent looking, red haired hussey, pretty much given to strong drink" (11/1/70-PG).

Most advertisements did not have this intensity. Advertisements simply noted that the runaway "is supposed she will go towards New-York, where she has Relatives" (8/8/71-PG). The Philadelphia slave Mingo was "supposed to be gone off with a White Woman, named Fanny" (6/28/70-PG. In a footnote, an owner added that his slave Jack, since he was born in Maryland, "is on his way to his old master, to see his mother and father" (10/21/72-PG).

There were occasional mentions of family units fleeing to freedom. "A young female child about eight months old," was taken in the flight of a man and woman "which may be a good mark to know them both" (11/1/70-PG). Similarly, another couple by the names of John Sharper and Nan, took with them the three-year-old Ishmael (5/7/72-PJ).

These few examples come from the Philadelphia papers, which carried the largest amount of slave advertising of the northeastern papers and frequently carried advertising from Maryland slave owners. In Boston, family connections or speculation to the whereabouts of runaways were almost totally ignored. The Boston Gazette carried only one such advertisment in the years from 1770 through 1776, that for a slave named Dillar, who "had carried off with her a Child of about 5 Years of Age" (2/6/75-BG).

Runaway advertisements suggest that slaves did not escape without some planning. The frequent mention of the clothes they took with them, even their "artfulness," suggests the leave-taking was not impulsive. Those factors would indicate that slaves probably had some rather specific

plan on where they were going. But many northeastern slave owners, particularly in Massachusetts, although observant enough to note the fit of a shoe and shape of a buckle, appeared to be ignorant of the life or concerns of a slave outside his or her connection with the white world.

Context

The newspaper context of the runaway advertisements needs to be mentioned. Runaway advertisements composed a small portion of advertising in general, and a small portion of advertisements when compared to the advertisements for runaway servants and apprentices. At first glance the slave runaway advertisements seem almost indistinguishable from the advertisements for runaway servants. Indeed, there were many similarities between the two--close physical descriptions and amount of rewards.

There were differences also. Slaves were never advertised with a surname, and servants, including free blacks, were given both names. The use of the single name, in fact, was the immediate indication that the individual in question was a slave. Additionally, there were certain rhetorical nuances. The use of "likely" for slaves and not for servants; the use of "down look" for servants more than slaves (although in Virginia, the use of "down look" was also used in slave descriptions); and the occasional use of "wool" to describe the hair of a slave. Unlike descriptions of white women servants, black women were described as "wenches" (although "woman" was also used); black youths were

frequently "boys" and "girls" whereas white youths were described as "lads." But most clearly, the advertisements are unequivocal that the sale of slave is is the sale of the individual, but the indentured servant was not for sale; it was his or her time that was for sale.

These differences, or lack of them, bring up the subject that has been posed Oscar and Mary F. Handlin in connection with the origins of the slave system in the south. They proposed that slavery grew out of a tradition that accepted various levels of un-freedom, beginning with villeinage. Chattel slavery emerged "from the adjustment to American conditions of traditional European institutions"[7] rather than perceived inherent differences of the black race. The study of the advertisements in the northeast indicates that colonists did not simply view slaves as on the bottom rung of servitude. They were acknowledged as different from indentured servants; but the existence of the servant class certainly would suggest that slavery could be more easily accepted by notheastern colonists as yet another level that existed for the overall good of a functioning society. The emphasis on skills and survivability in the advertisements, even the lack of detail in the slave's personal life, indicate that slaves were viewed in terms of their usefulness to the society. There was no indication in either the sale or runaway advertisements, that slaves could only be slaves because they could not survive without the white man's domination or guidance. The advertisements indicate that certain black

people were slaves because the society found them useful in that capacity. The emphasis was on what was good for the society rather than what was fair to the slave. Although fairness, the Golden Rule, and other concepts that grew out of individual awareness of responsibility were increasingly being articulated by Quakers and other anti-slavery proponents of the time, the importance of a stable society anchored in clearly defined ranks was still paramount for many of these children of the Enlightenment.

The slave advertisements of the northeast were part of the tradition of the general good. Emphasizng the function of the slave in the white world, advertisements can be viewed as illustrations of the pro-slavery arguments of the period that claimed the enslavement of Negroes was part of the natural order of the world because it promoted the happiness of the whole.

However, that view of the slave, although grim, was not based upon racist assumptions of inherent characteristics that leaves little room for change in status. But slavery viewed primarily in terms of its usefulness to the needs of society, permitted some grudging movement when the function could serve the general happiness.

Perhaps an advertisement in the Boston Gazette best summarized the place that such an attitude made for the slave. "Wanted," the advertisment announced, "A Maid and Man Servant. Negroes Will Do." (9/2/72-BG)

..

The Virginia and Maryland Press

In December of 1774, an advertisement appeared in the Maryland Gazette that sounded the fearful note of slave uprising. The advertisement was for the runaway Will, a slave whose escape had not been artful or deceitful, whose smooth tongue had engineered no getaway, who had run without wife or child, or even additional clothes, who had no plan of escape and ran to no secret harbor. Will took the action that colonists feared the most--he rose up and attacked the white man in whose charge he had been placed. "[H]aving resisted his overseer, by throwing him down, throating him and striking him sundry times with his fist, it is therefore to be hoped that as he has been guilty of so flagiteous (sic) a crime that all masters of negroes and servants will encourage the taking of him...it cannot be doubted but all overseers will be vigilant on this occasion." (12/15/74-MG)

Vigilance, it is suggested by the advertisements of the southern press, was not limited to such dramatic calls. It existed on many levels. Its frontline of defense was depersonalization. Slaves advertised for sale in the Virginia press, and to a lesser extent the Maryland press (which exhibited chracteristics of both southern and northern regions), lost the characterizations of skillful helpmeets of the northeastern advertisements. Slaves became members of "parcels," men, women and children known only by their common slavehood.

For sale advertisements

In Virginia the context of the slave advertisements shifts from that of people to that of property. The advertisements no longer appeared amid those for runaway indentured servants, but were found among the advertisements of what appears to be an extraordinary number of lost, strayed or stolen horses.

In the early 1770s, the number of advertisements of slaves for sale and those for runaways were fairly similar. But in the Virginia press the advertisements of slaves for sale represented many hundreds of slaves for sale, rather than the few dozen of the northeastern press. William Rind's Virginia Gazette for 1770 contained more runaway advertisements than sale advertisements (Figure 5). Yet the number of slaves represented by the runaway advertisements amounted to perhaps 34; the slaves represented by the advertisments for sale numbered more than 1,500.

Many of those sale advertisements were for slaves to be sold by professional dealers from parcels as large as 240; others from groups of twenty, thirty or eighty slaves, all to be sold at auction, not at private sale. So organized, slaves were described in limited ways--"choice," "valuable," and the ubiquitous "likely"--those terms usually a part of the headline along with the place of birth: " Just arrived from Africa," or "Virginia-born." Health was prominently mentioned. But only when the parcel was the result of the death of an owner, or sold by "a gentlemen who declined to go into planting"

did the advertisement generally include the mention of the skills represented in the group: "Nine choice Negroes" including a "good carpenter, good shoemaker." (3/1/70-Rind) A group of 80 "Virginia-born" slaves included "likely young wenches, sundry carpeters, a good blacksmith and a master skipper." (4/13/70-Pickney) But even these descriptions, which tend to characterize the parcels rather than individualize the men and women men who comprised the parcels, are scarce; moreover, it appeared that when small parcels of slaves were sold, even as few as two, the opportunity to individualize was ignored.

By 1775, with non-importation agreements in full force including a ban on slaves from Africa, advertisements for the sale of individual slaves increased slightly. But individualization of slaves remained rare. The advertisement for the slave Minny was an exception: "He is supposed to be as good a skipper as any in the colony; is well acquainted with the bay, and all Virginia and Maryland." (10/12/75-Purdie)

For the most part, however, Virginia owners generally were faint in their praise for the slaves they wished to sell. If a skill was included in a slave advertisement, it was the skill that was emphasized rather than the individual who possessed it. For example, when a slave cooper or sawyer was advertised, the skill tended not to be connected to the owner of the skill by adjectives such as "good sawyer" or "excellent cooper" that might have served to individuate the

slave. The persistent denial of such detail both in slaves sold in groups and slaves sold individually left the definition of the slave to the purview of the runaway advertisements.

Runaways

As in the northeastern advertisements, the physical description of the slave dominated the runaway advertisement. But the Virginia advertisement lacked the minute detail or the preciseness of the northeastern advertisements. Virginians were satisfied to describe the slave simply as "middle-sized" or "well-made," rather than convey size in exact feet and inches.

Virginians shared with the slave owners of the northeast, a particular concern with color. Virginians, as other colonists, could be specific about shade: "yellowish complexion" was a frequent term of description. "Pass for a white man," "very black," "remarkably black," "dark Mulatto" were important distinctions. As in the northeast, speech was seen as a means of identification--stuttering, speed, plainness and even "talkiness" was noted, but noted, of course, when there was something unusual and usually negative about the speech.

Apparel was given little emphasis, sometimes dismissed as clothes "that are commonly given to Field Negroes" (5/23/71-P&D). Ben escaped "wearing such clothes as Negroes occasionally wear in summer" (11/3/75-Purdie).
Even in cases where the escaped slave was known to have taken clothes with him, owners had difficulty being specific, or,

unlike the northeastern owners, find the enumeration of clothing unimportant as in the advertisement for Essex: "[H]e is a great rogue, and had a great variety of clothes on him, 21, middle-sized, very straight, talks fast, has large eyes, thick lips and had several times had a swelling under his throat, which has frequently broke, the scars of which are plainly to be seen" (5/31/70-Rind).

As in northeastern advertisements, the mention of scars and physical difficulties were frequent, some of which appeared to be the result of living in the 18th century, others, as in mention of whip marks, were directly related to the status of slavery. On the basis of information in the advertisements it is difficult to conclude that Virginia masters took less care of their slaves than those of the north. The Virginia owner of the slave Sam, however, was sensitive to the issue of mistreatment: "His thefts were certainly the cause of his flight, to avoid the Gallows, for he was never punished whilst with me, nor ever complained, neither had he had Cause to be disatisfied at his Treatment" (3/7/71-Purdie).

Another Virginia slave master struck the opposite chord with an offer of twenty-five pounds reward for the mulatto Sam. "He has broke open my Store, and stole many things... I will give Ten Pounds Reward for his Head, if separated from his Body. He has been much whipped for the Crime he committed, and expects to be hanged if taken; therefore he

must be well-secured" (2/14/71-P&D). The same edition carried an advertisement that certainly served to remind Virginians of the institutional support of slavery. "As he is outlawed I will give TEN POUNDS for his head, or for a property Certificate to entitle me to be allowed for him by the county." (Ibid.).

But neither the charitable tone of the first advertisement, or the angry, punishing words of the last two were typical. Those advertisements might remind Virginians in a particularly strong way that slaves, after all, were not loyal, and that in the end, discipline was the only support. But the message was more typically carried in the characterizations of the runaway slave as deceitful or artful. Charles was an "artful cunning fellow," a sawyer and shoemaker who "reads well and is a great Preacher from which I imagine he will pass for a freeman." (4/25/71-P&D) Jack had a "deceitful smile" (2/15/70-Rind) as did Joshua, who also was of a "cunning and of a roguish disposition" (2/15/70-P&D). Another Jack was described as "slim, clean made,talkative, artful, and very fancy fellow" (12/5/71 P&D). Artfulness was frequently connected to some aspects of speech. Venus, for example, advertised along with the second Jack, was characterized and "very smooth tongued" (Ibid.) Caesar was identified as "cunning, smooth-tongued, sensible fellow, has a remarkable good countenance and talks much, especially when in liquor to which he is pretty much addicted" (7/26/70-P&D). The mention of alcohol addiction

occurred periodically in advertisements throughout the colonies.

As in the northeast advertisements the Virginia advertisements that refer to runaway slaves as deceitful and artful were a fairly small percentage of total advertisements (Figure 5) despite the power of the description when they occurred. Indeed, Virginia masters did not characterize their slaves as deceitful or artful in significantly greater numbers than those of the northeast.

Nonetheless, the appearance of the description "artful" and its corollaries in the runaway advertisements suggest Virginians were not as impersonal about their slaves as the for sale advertisements would seem to indicate. Other aspects of the advertisements give evidence that Virginians were far from impersonal in their relationships with their slaves. Compared to their northern counterparts, the advertisements far more freqeuntly demonstrate an awareness of the personal history of their slaves including a realization of the multiplicity and strength of familial and emotional connections that caused slaves to abscond, as the Virginians phrased it, from "their duty."

"I gave him leave to go see his wife, who lives at Mr. Cornelius Loften's in this country, and he is supposed to be lurking around in the neighborhood. It is supposed that he had had dealings with a woman of infamous character in this neighborhood...and that she advised him to run away" (9/6/70-P&D)).

On a similar theme, it was noted that Sall Cooper, one of

the few slaves who was given a surname in the runaway advertisements, "has been for some time past much in the Company of a white Man who has lately gone to Norfolk, she is probably lurking in that place" (11/21/71-Purdie).

Such advertisements provide glimpses into the lives of slaves. Occasionally, an advertisement provides an even more complete drama, as in this advertisement that appeared in the 1775 summer of revolution. A ten pound reward was offered for the capture of Sam.

> About three years ago he purchased his freedom of his old master, Mr. Francis Slaughter, and continued in that state until this spring, when it was discovered he was attempting to inveigle away a number of negroes to the way of Indian country (where he had been most of the last summer) upon which the neighbors insisted on his being reduced to slavery once again; and I purchased him. I imagine he will endeavor to pass as a freeman; he having served in the expedition against the Indians last fall. (6/23/75-Purdie)

Sam's knowledge of the "Indian country" may have helped his escape; he also took with him a gun, an axe and a pot.

In summary, then, while the northeastern slave owner advertised his slave in many positive ways, the Virginia slave owner tended to depersonalize the slave in advertisements. Yet the Virginia slave owner, who did not know the clothing of the runaway slave to the extent of the northeastern owner, was more likely to know the details of the slave's life. However, Virginia slave owner did not routinely regard his runaway slave as deceptive. The theme of deception was a consistent but nonetheless minor theme.

South Carolina

The advertisements of the South Carolina press offer an interesting counterpart to the advertisments of the other colonies. Slaves were sold in parcels and individually, the individual advertisments picturing the slave as as skilled and useful as those in the northeast. Yet the advertisements for runaway slaves portray a society that viewed itself under seige, protecting itself by the methods of a police state.

As in other colonies, description of slaves to be sold included some characterization by their skills. Some parcels of slaves were advertised as including such trades as "a cooper, porter, cook, seamstress" (3/8/70-SCG). Other parcels are simply described as "choice plantation slaves" to be sold "by a gentleman about to decline planting," (2/15/70-SCG), a fairly common reason given for the sale of groups of slaves. Individual slaves are similarly characterized by their skill, a Negro woman who is "an extraordinary good Washer and Ironer" (6/7/70-SCG), a young man who is "understands extraordinary well taking care of horses." (1/1/70-SCG)). However, the South Carolina advertisers seldom mentioned that their slaves were "sold for no fault." There were only occasional explanations for the sale, just two in 1770, including this glimpse into a master-slave relationship: "The only reason his being offered to sale is, that his present employment is to attend a store, which does not seem o suit his inclinations, his present

owners are willing to part him, as they want one chiefly to attend the store. Enquire of the Printer" (1/25/70-SCG). Five years later a young woman and three-year-old child were to be sold because "she does not like to live in the country" (1/30/75-SCG).

But in the harsh slave world of South Carolina, concerns for the inclination or the desire of the slave stand out as oddities. The brutality and the costs of an institutionalized slave system were apparent in the the runaway advertisements.

As in other colonial advertisements, the South Carolina advertisements began with descriptions of physique and the clothing the slave was wearing, in the stock euphemism that was used throughout the colonial press, "when he went away." As in the Virginia press, physical characteristics dominated, but there was not the precise notation of size and weight of the northeastern press; nor the attention to the details of clothing found in the northeastern press. But what most differentiated the South Carolina advertisements from all other colonial newspapers was the particular emphasis on collusion, particularly white collusion, in the escape of a slave.

Routinely, the northeastern press added an "N.B." to most runaway advertisements that warned "all masters of vessels" not to take the runaway aboard. Virginians noted that escaped slaves were probably "lurking" in various neighborhoods. Authorities in all colonies tended to arrest blacks that were suspected of being runaway slaves. But in South Carolina, the threat to the system was not so much the

escaping slaves, but the whites and blacks who made the escape possible. The code word in the advertisment was "harbour." Thus, the advertisements tended to provide detailed accounts of the purchase history of the slave, as a way of indicating where the slave may have fled. "It is likely he may be gone to, or harboured by some evil minded person, at some of the above places," the owner of a slave Tom wrote, "I hereby offer a reward of 50 pounds to whoever will prove his being so harboured, to paid on conviction of the offense" (4/5/70-SCG). Most rewards for "harbouring," however, gave more money for information leading to the conviction of a white person than a black person, as in the advertisement for Neo. "And as I have Reason to believe that he is harboured by some villainous white Person, or free Negroes, or has been shipped off to the Barbadoes, or elsewhere, I will pay 100 pounds currency, for sufficient proof to convict a white person of any offence, and Twenty pounds currency for Proof of his being harboured by a free Negro, or Five Pounds by a Slave" (5/10/70-SCG)

Five years later, with hostilities against the British underway, one hundred dollars reward was offered for the "very artful and sensible" slave named Nanny. "[A]s there is good reason to suppose she is being harboured by a white person, I will give the above reward upon conviction of the offender and 20 dollars for a Negroe" (9/19/75-SCG).

The fear of slave rebellion existed in all the American colonies but no where more strongly than in South Carolina.

South Carolinians took seriously any evidence of black unrest. In June of 1775, even before Virginia's Lord Dunmore had issued his call to the slaves, the South Carolina militia was patroling town and country in the wake of black rioting. But this information was not published in the South Carolina papers, but was found in Dunlap's Maryland Gazette: "The nightly meetings and riots of the Negroes are entirely suppressed, and those depredations and robberies with which we are used to be so frequently alarmed are no more." (7/11/75-SCG). It was the tradition of that white wall of silence around local slave issues that provided the context for the slave advertisements. It should be noted that the many leisurely essays in the South Carolina Gazette on such subjects as female education and cultural matters did not necessarily reflect a particular interest in educative or cultural affairs as much as they illustrated a societal gentlemen's agreement to show no divisiveness by the public discussion of the substantive issue of slavery.

Thus, in South Carolina, more than in any other colony, the slave runaway advertisements only incidentally served as a function for the recapture of individual slaves for particular owners. Since the South Carolinians denied themselves a public forum, even for the affirmation of slavery, the slave advertisements took on the role of a litany, verification by endless repetition, of the white value system.

It is not suprising, then, that a large percentage of the advertisements for runaway (Figure 6) slaves indicated

that the slave owner was as interested, perhaps even more interested, in the conviction of the white person who assisted in the escape as much as in the re-capture of the slave. It also seemed to be an unchanging interest. In 1770, for example, 50 percent of the runaway advertisements in the South Carolina Gazette warn of "harbouring." (It should not be assumed that the harbourers were always interested in freedom for the slave--some slaves so harboured may have simply been re-sold into West Indian slavery; others were likely used as slaves by the "harbourers.") In 1775, the percentage was almost the same despite a dramatic decrease in the number of runaway advertisements from five years before (Figure 6).

Although the South Carolina press serves as the most rigid example of the cultural messages of slave advertising, the runaway advertising in all colonies functioned as a way of binding slave owners together, almost like a trade association. The runaway advertisements were predicated on the assumption that white people would assist in regaining a slave. The routine style of many of the advertisements sent that message. The confident, even confidential tone, as one person sharing information with a person of similar temperament, translated into that assumption, as did the code words that similarly served to convey assumptions and expectations.

Slave advertisements in general, and runaway advertisments in particular, thus served a dual purpose.

The advertisements first served to bind one slave owner to the next; secondly, the advertisements served notice on all who read them that slave owning was an accepted and an institutional way of life; most importantly, it was an obligation of all white people to participate in the maintainance of the status quo. South Carolina chose not to mince words. The advertisements leave no doubt that it was considered more important to find the white betrayals to the system, even at financial cost. The system was more important than its parts.

Conclusions

The slave advertisements in all the colonies had much in common. But when the advertisements are read according to region, some signficant differences appear. Slaves were advertised, both in the for sale and runaway advertisements, with an emphasis on the skills they possessed in the northeast. In the southern colonies, however, skills played a small part in the advertisements. There were obvious economic reasons for this difference, but the point of this study is to suggest that advertisements were one of the ways in which colonial Americans viewed their bondsmen and the advertisements that stressed individual skills, also tended to individuate slaves. Slaves in the south, sold in "parcels," had less of an opportunity to emerge from generalities and assumptions.

But the study also suggests that the notheastern recognition of individual differences among slaves, did not indicate that there was particular interest or caring for

slaves. Indeed, slaves for the northeastern owner seemed to exist primarily in terms of his or her use. The runaway advertisements of the southern colonies suggested a more personal knowledge of the slave than that exhibited by the northeastern master. I suggest that this characteristic was rooted in the psychological role that slaves played in the southern definition of self.

Advertisements, I argue, were a way of public legitimization of the broad, commonly agreed upon brush strokes the society needed to maintain itself. In the southern colonies advertisements can be offered as one supprt for the notion that the existence of slavery was one way, perhaps the most important way, in which the white southerner viewed himself. For the white southerner, the black bondsman was his reverse image; the slave defined him by being his opposite. But if the black bondsmen was to be accepted in a wide variety of roles, as in a variety of skill levels, the black bondsman could not have performed this oppositive function so clearly. It was necessary for the white southerner's own sense of himself for the black bondsmen to remain in the place that had been assigned to him, for movement would necessarily jeopardize the white southerner's view of himself that was so much based on his view of the bondsman. It is suggested that the encouragement of a variety of definition for the black bondsmen by the white southerner was tantamount to threatening himself with a kind of psychological <u>hari-kari.</u> It needs to be considered that the awareness of black life,

the emotionality of some of the runaway advertisements, even the anger, were indications of the dependence of the white southerner on his assumptions about the black bondsmen.

The personal distance from the black world exhibited by the advertisements in the northeast may also be interpreted in terms of the psychological roots of the region. As the southerners did not reject the black world, but rather included it on their own terms because of one set of traditions, the distancing of the northeasterners was consistent with a New England tradition that emphasized separation and isolation. From the Puritan beginnings, Calvinist New Englanders rejected, sent off or otherwise expurgated that which was disburbing and the study suggests that that rejection included an awareness of black people beyond their economic function. By contrast, the historian finds no advertisements in southern newspapers that seek to give away black babies.

It is recognized that such sweeping statements on regional attitudes cannot be supported solely on the basis of slave advertising in the late colonial press. Rather, it is suggested that this study, as other aspects of journalism history, must be placed in its cultural context if it is to contribute to the discussion of the role of journalism in the history of the country.

It is the opi nion of this writer that for too long historians outside the journalism field have tended to overlook journalism as an important source of primary

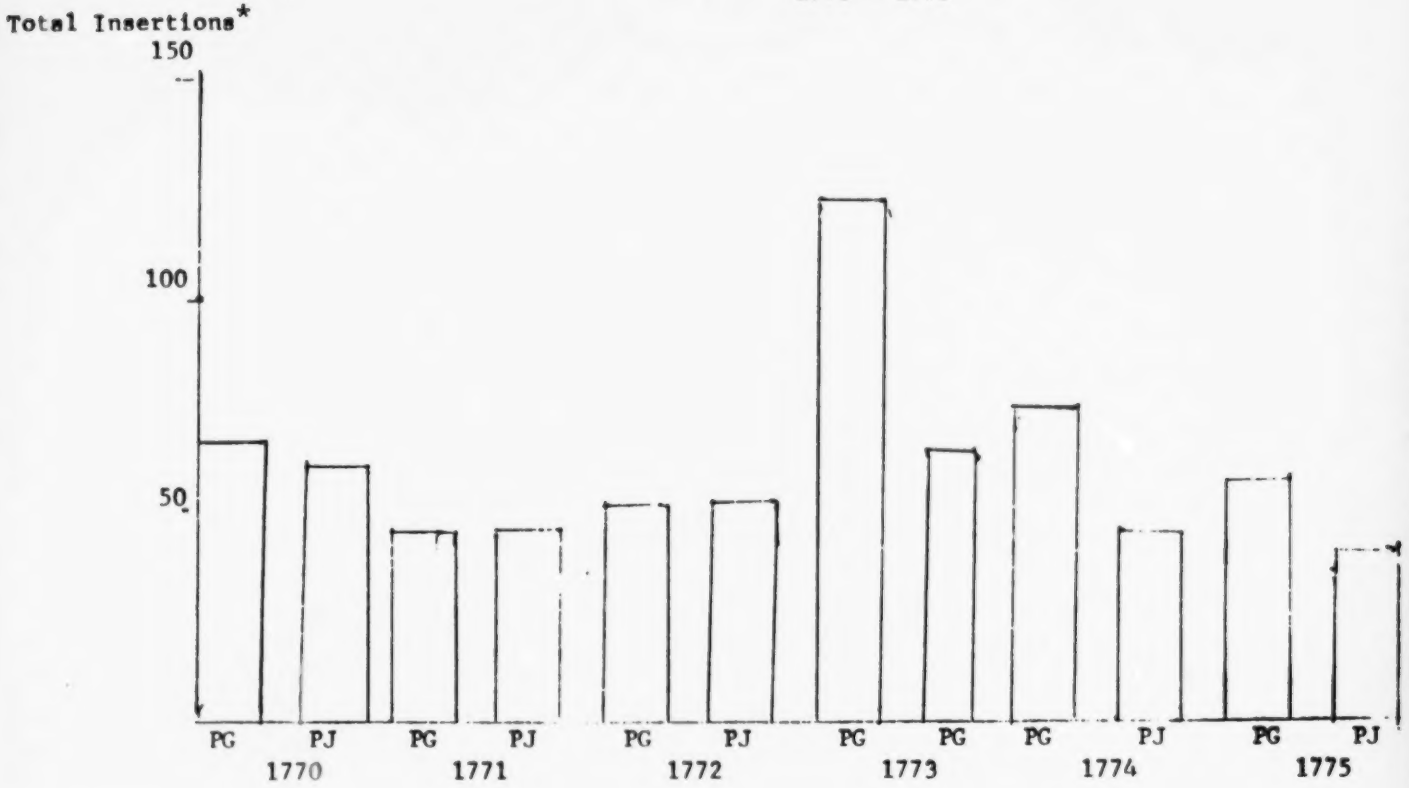
documents, instead favoring an occasional "dip" into newspaper sources to illustrate points already at hand. But it is also recognized that journalism historians--despite the work of Michael Schudson and others--still hone so closely to institutional history that it sometimes appears that that journalism history floats on an island unattached to any other context. It has been the overall goal of this paper to suggest that an intimate knowledge of a journalism source can enrich and enliven the main currents of American history.

Notes

1. Lathan Algerna Windley, "A Profile of Runaway Slaves in Virginia and South Carolina From 1730 Through 1787," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1974, p. 153.
2. Lorenzo Greene, "The New England Negro As Seen In Advertisements for Runaway Slaves," Journal of Negro History, XXIX (April, 1944), pp 124-126.
3. Darold D. Wax, "The Image of the Negro in the Maryland Gazette, 17745-1775," Journalism Quarterly, 46 (Spring, 1969), pp. 73-80.
4. George H. Moore, Notes on the History of Slavery in Massaschusetts (NewYork: Appleton, 1866), p. 57.
5. Robert Barrow, "Newspaper Advertising in Colonial America 1704-1775," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1967.
6. Allen Walter Reed,"The Speech of Negroes in Colonial America," Journal of Negro History I (July, 1916), pp. 247-58.
7. Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, "Origins of the Southern Labor System," William and Mary Quarterly VIII (April, 1950), p.200.

TOTAL SLAVE ADVERTISING - PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE, PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL

1770 - 1775



*Includes repetitions

Figure 1

Slave Advertising and Printer Involvement

Boston Gazette

	For Sale	Runaway	E/P*
1770	17	7	66%
1771	7	3	60%
1772	14	2	81%
1773	16	3	74%
1774	12	10	54%
1775	4	3	42%

Boston News-Letter

	For Sale	Runaway	E/P
1770	10	8	44%
1771	13	4	70%
1772	19	5	62%
1773	18	3	57%
1774	14	5	52%
1775	3	0	100%

Pennyslvania Gazette

	For Sale	Runaways	E/P
1770	27	15	44%
1771	16	14	43%
1772	24	14	58%
1773	27	30	66%
1774	23	16	43%
1775	17	14	41%

Pennsylvania Journal

	For Sale	Runaway	E/P
1770	16	11	75%
1771	5	11	80%
1772	11	11	54%
1773	9	7	66%
1774	12	6	41%
1775	8	8	62%

*Enquire of the Printer

Figure 2

Personality Traits by Newspaper

Pennsylvania Gazette (1770-1775)

	Total Slave Advertising
Healthy/Likely	93%
Identification by trade	22%
Artful/Deceitful	14%
Amiable	2%
Alcohol abuse	3%

Pennsylvania Journal (1770-1775)

	Total Slave Advertising
Healthy/Likely	42%
Identification by trade	17%
Artful/Deceitful	8%
Amiable	2%
Alcohol Abuse	7%

Boston Gazette (1770-1776)

	Total Slave Advertising
Healthy/Likely	61%
Identification by trade	6%
Artful/Deceitful	4%
Amiable	13%
Alcohol abuse	0

Boston News Letter (1770-1774)

	Total Slave Advertising
Healthy/Likely	36%
Identification by Trade	4%
Artful/Deceitful	0
Amiable	1%
Alcohol Abuse	0

46 Figure 3

New York

1770	For Sale	Runaway	Wanted
New-York Journal	13	8	1

1775	For Sale	Runaway	Custody
New-York Journal	8	12	1
Rivington's New-York Gazetteer	8	10	

For Sale Characteristics

New York Journal

	Trade	No Fault	Printer
1770	7% (3)	61% (8)	76% (10)
1775	0%	37% (3)	75% (6)

Rivington's New-York Gazetter

	Trade	No Fault	Printer
1770	37% (3)	50%	37%

Figure 4

Virginia Gazette(s)

	Runaway	For Sale	Wanted	In Custody
1770* (Rind)	34	31		5
1775** (Purdie)	22	4	1	5

*December, 1770, missing.
**January, 1775, missing.

Runaway Characteristics

	Harboured	Deceitful	Alcohol	Family
1770 (Rind)	2%	8%	2%	14%
1775 (Purdie)	4%	13%	4%	18%

For Sale* Characteristics

	Trade	No Fault	Printer
1770 (Rind)	16%	0%	0%
1775 (Purdie)	25% (N4)	0%	0%

(Includes advertisements for individual slaves and "parcels".

Figure 5

South-Carolina Gazette

	For Sale*	Runaways	Wanted	Custody	Total
1770	50	35	12		98
1775**	14	16	5	12	49

*For sale advertisements include both advertisements for individual slaves and "parcels"-16 such parcels in 1770; 8 in 1775.
**Two April issues missing for the year.

Runaway Advertisement Characteristics

	Harboured	Deceitful
1770	54%	8%
1775	50%	25%

For Sale Advertisements Characteristics

	Trade	Printer Involvement
1770	26%	18%
1775	7%	0%*

*Although none of the for sale advertisements for this year referred purchasers to the printer, four slave wanted advertisements did.

Figure 6